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POLITICAL
REPORT

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
Office of Current Intelligence
5 July 1966

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Political Developments in Communist China,
May and June 1966*

In view of the importance of the political turmoil in the Chinese leadership, this report does not follow the usual format, but concentrates on analysis of information relating to the leadership. In large part the discussion is an extension of analysis developed in the DDI Memorandum "The Leadership Upheaval in Communist China," 17 June 1966.

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*Prepared by OCI/FEA/China Division

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SUMMARY

This report focuses on the turbulence which has been evident in the Chinese leadership in the past few months. If Peking is to be believed, all it has done is to purge a handful of traitorous intellectuals and party renegades who want to restore capitalism. Signs are mounting, however, that the targets have included key men in the party machinery, and that this machinery has undergone its most massive shakeup in the history of the regime. This shakeup has reached into Mao's inner circle of advisers itself, and there are signs that it has led to the removal of a host of officials in the party machinery, military and security apparatus. Almost to a man, those who are believed to be in trouble are hardliners with records of unswerving loyalty to Mao and the party.

The number and character of the men whose status is in question are a further indication that the recent turmoil, to a large extent, is the external sign of a struggle by top party leaders to be in a position to take over once the aging Mao finally departs.

On 1 July the Peking Peoples Daily, in an editorial commemorating the 45th anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party, claimed that the struggle was over. The editorial described recent events as an attempt by "counterrevolutionary" plotters to seize the leadership of the party, army and the government. It asserted that the plot had been thoroughly crushed, and the scene is quiet again. This could prove to be the case, but it is also possible that the struggle is merely entering a new phase.

If stability has been restored, it may well prove transitory. Considering all that has happened, especially Mao's apparent inability to exercise sustained control, it is doubtful that the situation will fully stabilize until Mao finally departs and a successor consolidates his position. In any case, the ultimate outcome remains murky, and it is too early to speculate on what policies the ultimate victor will follow.

II. The Extent of the Shakeup

The status of 42 party and military leaders, out of a power structure of slightly more than 100, is in question. (See Annex A) Evidence is accumulating that many are in deep trouble, not just inexplicably out of public view.

The list is larger than the one published in the 17 June DDI Memorandum "The Leadership Upheaval in Communist China." However, it continues to consist almost entirely of hardline men who hold key positions in the party's instruments of control -- the party machinery, the army, and the security apparatus. The regime claims that it is after "bourgeois revisionists" who want to restore capitalism and who cannot be trusted to carry on Mao's policies. If so, the wrong men are under attack. Not one of the relative "softies" on the politburo, government administrators and economic planners like Chou En-lai, Li Hsien-nien, Li Fu-chun and Po I-po, seems to have been touched by the struggle.

Few of the leaders now in trouble have had close associations in their careers with the party general secretary Teng Hsiao-ping, who seems to have gained ground in the past tumultuous months. Teng men, such as Minister of Public Security Hsieh Fu-chih, generally have survived. Many who are on the list owed their rise solely to Mao Tsetung and some enjoyed the reputation of being his personal spokesmen. Their removal could weaken his ability to manipulate the levers of power and leave in doubt that he has been running the show, as the regime claims.

Little is known about new appointments, but that little also suggests that Teng is strengthening his position. The replacement named for Peng Chen in early June as first secretary of Peking was Li Hsueh-feng, believed to be a protege of Teng. The only key appointment announced since then was a new deputy director of the general political department (the party's control apparatus in the army). This man served under Teng Hsiao-ping in the Southwest Area in the early 1950s.

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II. Evidence that an Official Is in Trouble

Of the 42 party leaders now considered to be in a questionable status, only four have been clearly identified in the Chinese press. These are Peng Chen, his deputy Liu Jen, party cultural spokesman Chou Yang, and the Heilungkiang provincial party secretary Ouyang Chin. Evidence that the remainder are on thin ice rests mainly on a record of public non-appearances and on press criticism of their domain. This type of evidence is a good though not infallible indicator of a man's standing in normal times. It is a still better one when the political scene is unsettled as in recent months. At such times it is important for a leader to do what he can to establish that he is in good standing. Appearances not only enhance a leader's stature, they remind subordinates that he still exercises authority.

Several chronic absentees have pointedly shown up at least once since April, as if to demonstrate they are in good standing. In addition, many of those who are out of sight were very active up through March, so their hiatus of appearances represents an abrupt change of habit.

In late June the Peking press began adding appreciably to the pressure that a leader show up to prove his standing. It began to demand that responsible officials, including explicitly all provincial first secretaries, "personally" take charge of the current ideological purification drive in their own domain.

Such demands could foreshadow charges of malfeasance against officials who can be represented as not complying. This was the technique used to bring down Peng Chen. Before Peng's formal removal from his post as first secretary of Peking city, several writers and lesser officials in the Peking city party and government apparatus were attacked for their "antiparty" writings and activities. The Peking city organizations were not represented as acting against the "antiparty" criminals. This would seem to establish the general proposition that, when political shortcomings are publicized in a leader's domain, and he is not represented as engaging in the necessary cleanup action, he is in trouble.

At the moment, at least eight provincial leaders and two department heads in the central committee have been implicated by this type of indirect attack. (See Annex B). There has also been political criticism of the air force and of military units near Peking which might implicate

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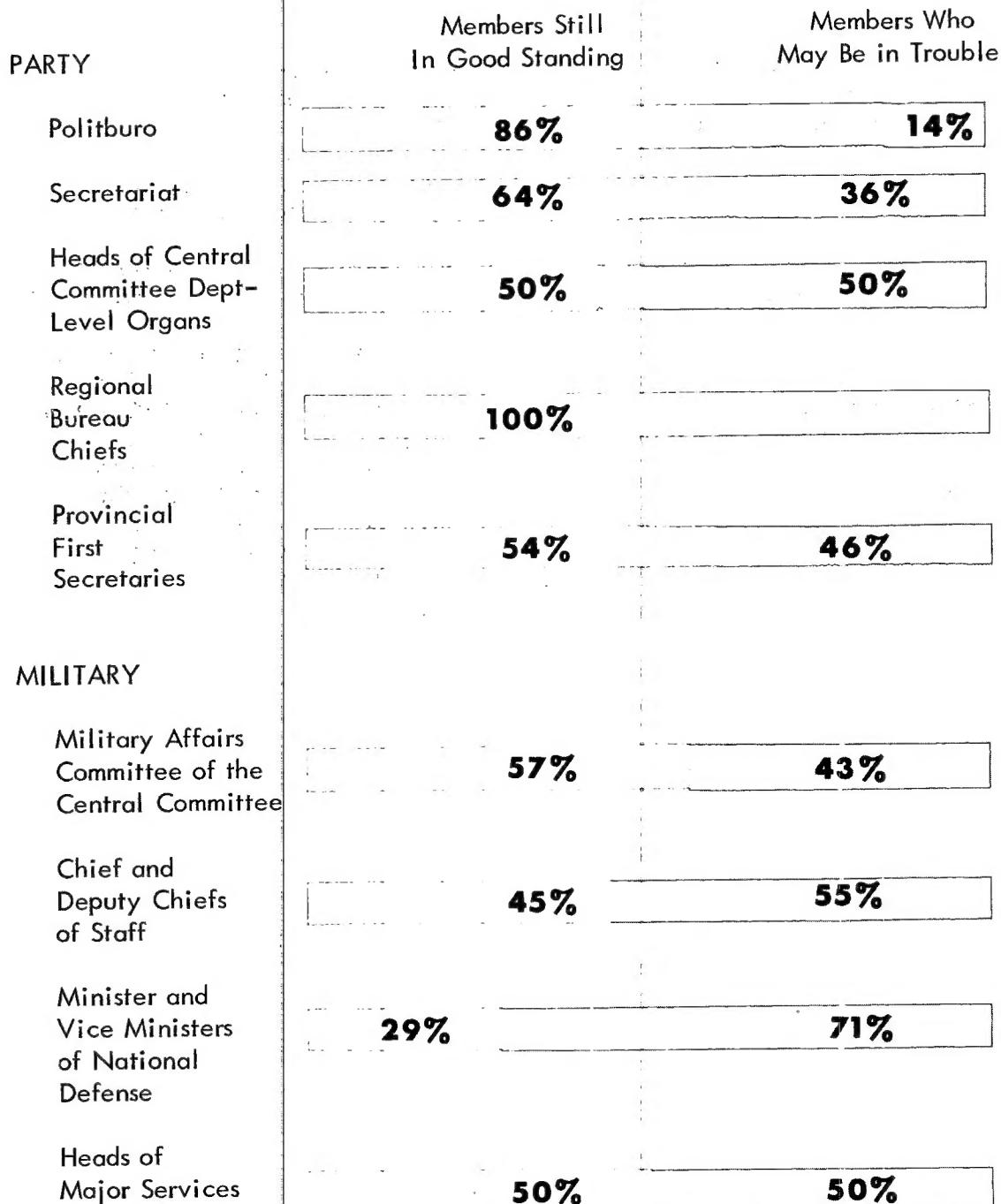
the air force chief and the commander of the Peking Military Region. Both have been out of sight for months. At a minimum, such men would seem to be under a cloud, but Peoples Daily on 24 June indicated that their fate was not necessarily finally settled. It urged leading officials under attack not to lose heart if they are really loyal to the party but to work to try to clear themselves. This may not be very reassuring to those under attack, since Peoples Daily had been unsuccessful in its apparent efforts earlier this year to defend Peng Chen.

One man whose status was in question in May showed up in June under circumstances suggesting that he had been under attack but had managed to clear himself. This was the first secretary of the Shantung party committee, who was out of public view between 29 March and 11 June. During May "antiparty" activities were exposed in Shantung but were not reported to have been cleaned out. Shortly after the secretary's reappearance in June a new pocket of subversive activity was uncovered and cleaned out by the party committee.

Doubtless some of the 42 men whose status is in question have not been in trouble at all, but are out of sight for some other reason. It is believed that there are relatively few in this category, however. The majority of the men on the list are under suspicion on other grounds than merely failure to show up recently. In addition to the four who have been publicly identified, ten have had their domain criticized, six have been out of view suspiciously long (six months or more), and two were very active and eight were fairly active before dropping out of sight.

Possible Shake-Up of Key Party and Military Groupings in Communist China

This chart considers the status of only those men who appeared to form the active power structure in March 1966, just before the fall of politburo member Peng Chen. Some, who hold multiple posts, are counted in more than one grouping.



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III. Shakeup in the Party Machinery (See Annex C)

Politburo

The disarray in the party machinery is not immediately evident from the status of the politburo alone. As of the end of June, only one politburo member has been publicly displaced but he was sixth in the hierarchy and a member of Mao's inner circle of advisers. One alternate member appears on the basis of his long absence and attacks on his areas of responsibility also to have fallen victim to behind-the-scenes maneuvering.

This should not be misconstrued. Six politburo members and three alternates were already out of favor, inactive because of illness, or relatively unimportant politically before the present party crisis. Five members and one alternate have been engaged more in government administration than in party work per se for most of the last decade. This leaves only six members and two alternates whose primary responsibilities had been in the central control of the party.

Secretariat

The day-to-day direction of party affairs, as distinct from policy formulation and the issuance of general directives, is entrusted to the Secretariat of the Central Committee. As General Secretary of the CCP and senior member of the Secretariat, Teng Hsiao-ping derives much of his strategic power from the Secretariat, and his ten colleagues (full and alternate members) have all been among the most influential in the party. Now, four of these are purged (Peng Chen) or under a cloud of suspicion (Lu Ting-i, Lo Juiching, and Yang Shang-kun). Remaining active with Teng are the party specialists in agricultural policy, financial and economic policy, theoretical work, and regional administration. The men who are apparently out handled propaganda, police, the armed forces, and general administration.

Central Committee Departments

The Secretariat exercises its authority through a series of about ten Central Committee Departments. Of the eight publicly designated heads of these departments, half are out of sight--those who oversee propaganda, organization (i.e., party personnel policy), political work in finance and trade, and the Young Communist League. The Propaganda Department has been singled out for attack in the press, and one of its deputy directors, Chou Yang, has

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just been revealed in this propaganda as a leader in the insinuation of the anti-party "black thread" into China's culture and art (a charge that is grotesque in light of Chou's policy speeches of the last decade.)

Regional Bureaus and Provinces

All five of the party's regional bureau heads have appeared since the fall of Peng Chen and appear to be in good standing, although their record of appearances is much scantier than in 1965.

In the sixth bureau, East China, no successor has yet been named for Ko Ching-shih, who died in April 1965. The apparent inability of party leaders to agree on a successor in 1965 might have been one of the factors which spurred the later dissension.

Although regional chiefs all remain in good standing, many other key officials in the regional bureaus and in the provincial party committees are fairly obviously in trouble. In the North, East, and Northeast regions, large percentages of top party leaders have gone unreported since April. The Northwest, Southwest, and Central-South regions so far have been relatively untouched.

Some elements in this pattern of regional variations can be explained as part of a drive to remove associates of Peng Chen. Both East and North China probably included strongholds of support for Peng Chen. Although the nominal head of the North China bureau, Li Hsueh-feng, is believed to be a Teng Hsiao-ping man, Peng undoubtedly exercised considerable authority there. In East China, the late Ko Ching-shih was considered to be an ally of Peng. One of the men in trouble in the Northeast is an old associate of Peng Chen.

The Southwest Bureau (which is in good shape) is an old stronghold of Teng, who was party boss there in the early 1950s. The current party boss in the Southwest, Li Ching-chuan, is a longtime Teng associate. The first secretary in the Northwest is a Teng appointee, who evidently has been successful in keeping Peng Chen men out of his area.

Tao Chu, head of the Central-South bureau, is the only regional leader who seems to have built his own power base. There had been some doubt about Tao's status, as he failed to show up between 4 April and 2 June, but he was one of the top party leaders to greet Chou En-lai at Peking on his return from abroad on 1 July.

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IV. Possible Shakeup of the Military

An unusual number of key military men are out of public view (See Annex D), and there is considerable press criticism of political problems in the armed forces, but in the absence of hard information it is difficult to say how deeply the military has become embroiled in the political turmoil. Certainly, however, party leaders struggling for power would keep the vital factor of the army in mind.

Press criticism of the military is couched in terms of longstanding complaints against "professional military men" who resent party control and question Mao's dictum that men are more important than weapons. Peking hints that there are still key officers who secretly support Peng Te-huai, the defense minister purged in 1959, among other things, for objecting to Mao's decision to challenge Khrushchev and jeopardize the flow of Soviet military aid.

There may well be a body of "professionals" under attack, but if so it is difficult to equate them to the men whose status is now in question. Most spent their careers enforcing party primacy over the military. Some were put in their jobs in the aftermath of the Peng Te-huai purge. The air force chief is a former commissar.

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Top military men in China are not as obliged as political leaders to make frequent public appearances, but even so this wholesale failure to show up for three months or more is remarkable. Considering the background of the men concerned, the removal of almost any should be construed as evidence that he had been a casualty of a power play, not a purge of disloyal officers.

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ANNEX A: LEADERS WHO HAVE NOT APPEARED IN PUBLIC SINCE APRIL

A list of 25 leaders whose status was in question was published in DD/I Intelligence Memorandum, 17 June 1966 "The Leadership Upheaval in Communist China". Only one of those men, Shantung's first party secretary, has reappeared since then. The 42 names below represent an expansion from the original list to include additional figures whose political status has come into question. Roughly 60 men of equal stature in the power structure apparently remain in good standing.

| <u>Name and Last Appearance as of 30 June</u> | <u>Positions</u> | <u>Comment</u> |
|---|---|--|
| <u>Party and Security Officials</u> | | |
| Peng Chen 29 Mar 66 | Politburo and secretariat member, one of Mao's inner circle of advisers; former 1st secretary and mayor of Peking | First important target and victim of current power struggle. |
| Lo Jui-ching 27 Nov 65 | Army chief of staff; chief of secret police | A Mao protege. As one of few Chinese leaders to hold a considerable power position with a large degree of independence from General Secretary Teng, he would be, like Peng, a natural rival with Teng for the succession. He is rumored in Peking diplomatic circles to have been ousted about late March. |
| Lu Ting-i Mar. 66 | Director, party propaganda department; alternate politburo member and secretariat member | Close to Mao. Has not been seen in Peking since 28 February; noted at undated appearances in provinces in March. |
| Yang Shang-kun 29 Nov 65 | Mao's personal aide and party secretariat alternate member | Has served directly under Peng Te-huai, Chu Te, and Mao, as well as Teng; had some connection with anti-Mao "28 Bolsheviks" in 1930s, but has worked as Mao's personal link with the secretariat since 1956. |

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Name and Last Appearance as of 30 JuneAn Tzu-wen
25 Mar 66Positions

Director, party organization department (dealing with personnel)

Chou Yang
3 Jan 66

Deputy Director, party propaganda department

Yao I-lin
12 Mar 66

Director, CCP-CC Finance & Trade Political Work Department; Deputy Director, Finance & Trade Staff Office; Minister of Commerce

Hu Yao-pang
20 Apr 66

1st Secretary, Young Communist League

Tseng Shan
23 Mar 66

Minister, Internal Affairs

Comment

Possibly Peng man.

Part of Mao's brain trust since 1937, has held his present job since 1955, has been a chief spokesman for Mao's policies in the field of culture. Attacked on 30 June as conspiring to "reverse history" by backing the "black thread" in art and literature.

With a long record in trade and finance administration, Yao's chief associations seem to be with Liu Shao-chi and Peng Chen (1936); Nieh Jung-chen (1946); and Li Hsien-nien (since early 1950s).

Listed as a possible protege of Teng Hsiao-ping, Hu may have been brought in to head party's youth work by Liu Shao-chi. Hu has been indirectly criticized for failures of YCL and spent most of 1965 in Shensi Province as 1st Secretary while YCL was cleaned up.

Gained Mao's favor by opposing Chen Shao-yu in 1931-34 factional disputes; associated with Chen Yi during and after Japanese war; one of key Shanghai party officials, 1949-54; ineffective as commerce minister, 1954-56, and dismissed; got internal affairs post (checking on government agencies and officials) in 1960

Name and Last Appearance as of 30 JuneChang Chi-chun
25 Mar 66

Positions

Director of Culture and Education Staff Office, overseeing four ministries; Deputy Director, party Propaganda Department

Comment

Probably a Teng man.

Fang I
7 Mar 66

Chairman, Commission for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries; Deputy Director, Foreign Affairs Staff Office; Vice Chairman, State Planning Commission

China's top representative in North Vietnam in late 1950s; he worked in Shanghai with Tseng Shan in regime's early years.

Tao Lu-chia
24 Apr 66

Vice Chairman, State Economic Commission

Transferred to central job from posts as 1st Secretary of Shansi and Secretary of North China Bureau in April 1965. Possibly, a Teng protege.

Military MenHsiao Hua
27 Mar 66

Head of army's General Political Department; Deputy Secretary General, MAC

Has served as political commissar under Lin Piao and Yang Yung. Has not acted against "black" cultural activities in the GPD.

Nieh Jung-chen
1 Oct 65

Runs advanced weapons program, as Chairman, S&TC, MAC Vice Chairman

Closely allied with Chou En-lai throughout his career.

Hsiao Ching-kuang
23 Feb 66

Navy commander; Vice Minister National Defense

Served under Lin Piao in late 1940s; went to school with Liu Shao-chi and probably Mao; studied in Moscow for several years.

Name and Last Appearance as of 30 JuneYang Yung
8 Feb 66Positions

Commander, Peking Military Region

Comment

Listed as possibly a Teng man. Has served primarily (1939-52) under Liu Po-cheng and his political commissar Teng; has also served under Peng Te-huai, Lin Piao, and Hsu Hsiang-chien. As Peking commander, he presumably worked closely with Peng Chen. Liberation Army Journal 20 April article makes odd point that military units near the center (Peking) can have special political problems.

Wu Fa-hsien
22 Mar 66

Air Force Commander

Political commissar of air force 1957-65; Deputy PC 1954-57; before that a political commissar in Kwangsi Military District. The Air Force was attacked by Liberation Army Journal on 20 May for its ideological problems.

Yang Cheng-wu
22 Mar 66

Deputy Chief of Staff

Deputy to Nieh Jung-chen, early 1950s; succeeded Nieh as Peking Military Region Commander (1954-1959), and as such associated with Peng Chen; removed from this crucial post in aftermath of Peng Te-huai purge of 1959.

Wang Shu-sheng
20 Jan 66

Vice Minister of National Defense

Activities have been primarily military, avoiding involvement in political shakeups.

Hsu Shih-yu
20 Apr 66

Vice Minister, National Defense; Commander, Nanking Military Region

Appointed to Ministry in September 1959 in wake of Peng Te-huai ouster; once bucked Mao (1937), later served under Chen Yi.

| <u>Name and Last Appearance as of 30 June</u> | <u>Positions</u> | <u>Comment</u> |
|---|---|--|
| Liao Han-sheng Mar. 66 | Vice Minister, National Defense | Probably a Peng Te-huai protege. |
| Chang Ai-ping 27 Mar 66 | Deputy Chief of Staff | A Long March veteran, long experienced in both political commissar and command structure, served in East China 1949-55. |
| Liang Pi-yeh 14 Feb 66 | Deputy Director, General Political Department, PLA | A political commissar in Central-South China until 1962. |
| Chen Hsi-lien 27 Dec 65 | Commander, Mukden Military Region; Secretary, Northeast Bureau | Has commanded Mukden MR since 1959; almost solely military, not political. |
| Huang Yung-sheng 9 Nov 65 | Commander, Canton Military Region; Secretary, Central-South Bureau | A Long Marcher, Huang has served most closely with Lin Piao. |
| Yang Te-chih Jan 66 | Commander, Tsinan Military Region | A veteran Long Marcher, has served under Mao, Chu Te, Lin Piao, and Peng Te-huai; listed as first alternate Central Committee member, has nevertheless been primarily in military roles. |
| Chang Ta-chih 22 Jan 66 | Commander, Lanchow Military Region; Secretary, Northwest Bureau | Entire career in Northwest in military and public security affairs; once served under Peng Te-huai. |
| <u>Provincial Leaders</u> | | |
| Chen Pei-hsien 14 Feb 66 | 1st Secretary, Shanghai | Named to succeed the late Ko Ching-shih, who was possibly a Peng man, in November 1965. Has not acted against "black" cultural activities. |

SECRETName and Last Appearance as of 30 JunePositionsCommentLi Pao-hua
Apr. 661st Secretary,
Anhwei

Possibly Peng. Has not acted against "black" cultural activities.

Yang Shang-kuei
17 Nov 651st Secretary
Kiangsi; Political
Commissar, Kiangsi
Military District;
Secretary, East
China Bureau

Long overshadowed by the now-deceased Governor Shao Shih-ping, Yang has been top local party man since 1953. Not a Central Committee member. Party committee and people's council have acted against "black" cultural activities, but Yang has not been mentioned.

Yeh Fei
10 Mar 661st Secretary,
Fukien; Political
Commissar and pos-
sibly still Military
Commander, Foochow
Military Region;
Secretary, East China
Bureau

Chief party and military official in Fukien, has served primarily under Chen Yi and Su Yu. No "black cultural activities exposed yet in Fukien.

Wei Kuo-ching
22 Mar 661st Secretary & Gov-
ernor, Kwangsi;
Political Commissar,
Kwangsi Military
District

With his triple post, Wei is party's top man in Kwangsi and second-ranking minority man in party (he is Chuang, China's most numerous minority.) Hanoi radio says he appeared in June.

Chia Chi-yun
5 Apr 661st Secretary
KweichowChia, best-known as incompe-
tent head of State Statis-
tical Bureau during Leap
Forward, was made head of
Kweichow party in summer (Jul
or Aug) 1965. Not a Central
Committee member. Province
has acted against some of
the reported "black" cultural
activities.**SECRET**

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Name and Last
Appearance as
of 30 June

Positions

Comment

Chang Kuo-hua
Jan 66

1st Secretary, Tibet;
Commander, Tibet
Military Region

Took top party post when
Tibet Autonomous Region was
formally established in
September 1965; has led
Chinese troops there since
Tibetan rebellion. Not a
Central Committee member.
No "black" cultural activi-
ties exposed in Tibet.

Liu Jen
26 Mar 66

Former 2nd Secretary,
Peking

Peng man (entire career).
Replaced by Wu Te, 3 June 66.

Lin Tieh
24 Mar 66

1st Secretary, Hopeh;
Political Commissar,
Hopeh Military Dis-
trict; 3rd Secretary,
North China Bureau

Not represented as acting
against "black" cultural
activities.

Wei Heng
1 Feb 66

1st Secretary,
Shansi

Promoted to top Shansi party
post in July 1965 when Tao
Lu-chia moved to central
government job; had been
Governor; has spent entire
career in Shansi. No "black"
cultural activities exposed
yet in Shansi.

Ma Ming-fang
Mar 66

3rd Secretary,
Northeast Bureau

A schoolmate of Kao Kang and
Hsi Chung-hsun, he also
served under Teng and was
probably moved into NE Bureau
to help weed out Kao sup-
porters.

Huang Huo-ching
2 Sept 65

1st Secretary, Liao-
ning; Political
Commissar, Liaoning
Military District;
Secretary, Northeast
Bureau

Moved into Liaoning in 1958
over former 1st Secretary
Huang Ou-tung's head to take
charge of rectification and
purge of "anti-party faction-
alists." Probably has not
acted against "black" cultural
activities.

Huang Ou-tung
6 Mar 66

Governor, Liaoning

Possibly Peng man.

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Name and Last Appearance as of 30 June

Ou-yang Chin
10 Feb 66

Positions

1st Secretary,
Heilungkiang; Polit-
ical Commissar,
Heilungkiang Military
District; 2nd Secre-
tary, Northeast Bureau

Wang Feng
25 Feb 66

1st Secretary,
Kansu; Secretary,
Northwest Bureau

Comment

Possibly Peng Man. Replaced
by Pan Fu-sheng, May 66.

Also served with Ulanfu and
Li Wei-han; active in united
front work and minority af-
fairs. No "black" cultural
activities exposed yet in
Kansu.

ANNEX B: "Black" Anti-Party Cultural Activities Publicized in Communist China 1 May-30 June 1966

| <u>Locality</u> | <u>Ostensible Culprits</u> | <u>Party Leader and Last Appearance</u> | <u>Leader Represented As Cleaning Up</u> | <u>Comment</u> |
|---|--|---|--|---|
| Central Committee CC Propa- ganda Dept. | Unnamed deputy director | Lu Ting-i Mar 66 | No | The attacks are aimed at a deputy director who approved "black" literary works. Chou Yang is the deputy director who has been party spokesman on literature. He last appeared 3 Jan 66. |
| General Polit- ical Dept. of the Army. | Deputy director of cultural dept. | Hsiao Hua 27 Mar 66 | No | Hsiao Hua last appeared in company with Peng Chen. |
| <u>North China Bureau</u> | | | | |
| Peking | A party secretary; Peng Chen party dept. director; a vice-mayor | 29 Mar 66 | No | Peng Chen's removal and the reorganization of the Peking party committee were announced on 3 June 66. |
| Hopeh | A university professor | Lin Tieh 24 Mar 66 | No | Lin is a possible Peng Chen man. |
| Inner Mon- golia | No "black" cul- tural activities reported | Wu Lan-fu 11 May 66 | | |
| Shansi | No "black" cul- tural activities reported | Wei Heng 1 Feb 66 | | |

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| <u>Locality</u> | <u>Ostensible Culprits</u> | <u>Party Leader and Last Appearance</u> | <u>Leader Represented As Cleaning Up</u> | <u>Comment</u> |
|--------------------------|---|---|--|---|
| <u>East China Bureau</u> | | | | |
| Shanghai | A deputy director of a municipal bureau; cultural figures | Chen Pei-hsien 14 Feb 66 | No | The attacks imply that higher figures are involved and the press has been representing Tsao Ti-chiu as ranking secretary in Shanghai. |
| Anhwei | A university professor | Li Pao-hua Apr 66 | No | Li is a possible Peng Chen man. |
| Chekiang | Chekiang Univ. party deputy secretary, concurrently university president | Chiang Hua 26 Jun 66 | Yes | Culprit dismissed. |
| Fukien | No "black" cultural activities reported | Yeh Fei 10 Mar 66 | | |
| Kiangsi | Director of the provincial education and culture bureau; deputy director of the provincial education dept., concurrently Kiangsi Univ. vice-president | Yang Shang-kuei 17 Nov 65 | Yes | Culprits dismissed by the provincial party committee and people's council. If Yang fails to show up soon, this could indicate he has been replaced. |
| Kiangsu | Nanking Univ. party secretary, concurrently university president; deputy director of party propaganda dept. | Chiang Wei-ching 1 May 66 | Yes and No | The ostensible culprits were attacked on 12 and 13 June, respectively. The 12 June attack reported that the Nanking Univ. party secretary had been |

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| <u>Locality</u> | <u>Ostensible Culprits</u> | <u>Party Leader and Last Appearance</u> | <u>Leader Represented As Cleaning Up</u> | <u>Comment</u> |
|-----------------------------|---|---|--|--|
| | | | | dismissed. The propaganda dept. official has not been dismissed. |
| Shantung | Vice-governor, concurrently director of the party propaganda dept; a college party secretary; vice-president of Shantung Teachers College | Tan Chi-lung 11 Jun 66 | Yes and No | The Shantung Teachers College party secretary and vice-president have been dismissed. The initial attack upon them on 20 June reported that they had lost their posts. The vice-governor, under attack since 28 May, has not been reported dismissed. Tan was out of sight 29 Mar-11 Jun. He reappeared just before action against the college figures was announced, an indication that his position is secure. |
| <u>Central South Bureau</u> | | | | |
| Honan | No "black" cultural activities reported | Liu Chien-hsun May 66 | | |
| Hunan | Party committee secretary of provincial cadres school | Chang Ping-hua 2 Jun 66 | Yes | Culprit dismissed |

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| <u>Locality</u> | <u>Ostensible Culprits</u> | <u>Party Leader and Last Appearance</u> | <u>Leader Represented As Cleaning Up</u> | <u>Comment</u> |
|-------------------------|--|---|--|--|
| Hupeh | Wuhan Univ. party secretary; Wuhan Univ. president | Wang Jen-chung Jun 66 | Yes | Wuhan Univ. party secretary ordered to undergo "self-examination"; univ. president dismissed; party committee team appointed to clean up Wuhan Univ. |
| Kwangsi | A deputy director of party propaganda dept. | Wei Kuo-ching 22 Mar 66 | No | According to Hanoi radio on 23 June, Wei Kuo-ching greeted Le Duc Tho in Nanning. |
| Kwangtung | A former deputy editor of the Yang-cheng Wan-Pao; a middle school party secretary | Chao Tzu-yang Jun 66 | Yes | The middle school party secretary has been dismissed. The deputy editor is identified as "former." |
| <u>Southwest Bureau</u> | | | | |
| Kweichow | Standing member of provincial party committee, concurrently director of party propaganda dept., and chief editor of Kweichow Daily; party secretary of Kweiyang Teachers College; party secretary of middle school | Chia Chi-yun 5 Apr 66 | Yes and No | The college party secretary and middle school party secretary have been dismissed. The provincial party committee figure, attacked on 5 June, has not been reported dismissed. |

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| <u>Locality</u> | <u>Ostensible Culprits</u> | <u>Party Leader and Last Appearance</u> | <u>Leader Represented As Cleaning Up</u> | <u>Comment</u> |
|--------------------------|--|--|--|---|
| <u>Central Committee</u> | | | | |
| Szechwan | Chengtu Evening News editors; Chengtu Univ. party deputy secretary | Li Ching-chuan (SW Bureau) 1 May 66 Liao Chih-kao (Szechwan) 1 May 66 | Yes Yes | The culprits, one of whom was identified as a "former" SW Bureau official, have been dismissed. The municipal party committee was reported to have acted with the approval of the provincial committee and the SW Bureau. |
| Tibet | No "black" cultural activities reported | Chang Kuo-hua Jan 66 | | |
| Yunnan | Yunnan Daily chief editor; a college party secretary | Yen Hung-yen 1 May 66 | Yes | Culprits dismissed. |
| <u>Northeast Bureau</u> | | | | |
| Heilungkiang | Harbin Evening News chief editor; 5 May 66 dramatists | Pan Fu-sheng 5 May 66 | Yes | Editor dismissed. Pan replaced Ou-Yang Chin about Mar 66. |
| Kirin | No "black" cultural activities reported | Unknown | | Wu Te, 1st secretary of Kirin, was named 2nd secretary of the Peking party committee on 3 Jun, replacing Liu Jen. |

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| <u>Locality</u> | <u>Ostensible Culprits</u> | <u>Party Leader and Last Appearance</u> | <u>Leader Represented As Cleaning Up</u> | <u>Comment</u> |
|-----------------|--|---|--|---|
| Liaoning | A secretary of the provincial party committee; deputy director of the provincial cultural bureau | Huang Huo-ching 2 Sept 65 | Yes and No | The party committee secretary was described on 26 June as "former" secretary but the party committee itself is not reported to have acted. The provincial government figure, attacked on 15 Jun, has not been reported dismissed. |

Northwest Bureau

| | | | | |
|----------|---|----------------------------|---------|---|
| Kansu | No "black" cultural activities reported | Wang Feng 25 Feb 66 | | |
| Ninghsia | No "black" cultural activities reported | Yang Ching-jen May 66 | | |
| Shensi | Sian Communications Univ. party secretary, concurrently univ. president | Huo Shih-lien 22 May 66 | Yes | Culprit dismissed. |
| Sinkiang | A literary journal editor | Wang En-mao 28 May 66 | Unclear | Wang gave speech denouncing culprit but did not say that he had been dismissed. |
| Tsinghai | Tsinghai Daily chief editor | Yang Chih-lin May 66 | Yes | Culprit dismissed. |

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ANNEX C: STATUS OF KEY MEN IN THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY MACHINERY

Key: ? = May be in trouble.

(I) = Were inactive or relatively unimportant prior to present party crisis.

I. POLITBURO OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Members:

| | | |
|-----|-----------------|---|
| | Mao Tse-tung | Chairman, CCP-CC |
| | Liu Shao-chi | Vice Chairman, CCP-CC; chief of state |
| | Chou En-lai* | Vice Chairman, CCP-CC; Premier |
| (I) | Chu Te | Vice Chairman, CCP-CC |
| (I) | Chen Yun | Vice Chairman, CCP-CC |
| | Lin Piao | Vice Chairman, CCP-CC; Minister of National Defense |
| (I) | Teng Hsiao-ping | General Secretary, Central Committee |
| (I) | Tung Pi-wu | |
| ? | Peng Chen | |
| | Chen Yi* | Foreign Minister |
| | Li Fu-chun* | Economic planner |
| (I) | Peng Te-huai | |
| (I) | Liu Po-cheng | |
| (I) | Ho Lung | |
| | Li Hsien-nien* | Finance Minister |
| | Li Ching-chuan | First Secretary, Southwest Bureau |
| | Tan Chen-lin* | Agricultural specialist |

Alternate Members:

| | |
|-----|----------------|
| (I) | Ulanfu |
| (I) | Chang Wen-tien |
| ? | Lu Ting-i |
| (I) | Chen Po-ta |

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* = Have been involved for most of last decade primarily in government administration, not party work.

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II. SECRETARIAT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Members: Teng Hsiao-ping
? Peng Chen
(I) Wang Chia-hsiang
Tan Chen-lin
Li Hsueh-feng
Li Fu-chun
Li Hsien-nien
? Lu Ting-i
Kang Sheng
? Lo Jui-ching (out since Nov 65)

Alternate Liu Lan-tao
Members: ? Yang Shang-kun (out since Nov 65)
(I) Hu Chiao-mu

Administrative (Staff) Office of the Secretariat

Director: ? Yang Shang-kun (out since Nov 65)

III. DEPARTMENTS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Organization Department Director: ? An Tzu-wen

Propaganda Department

Propaganda Department
Director: ? Lu Ting-i
Prominent Deputy Directors: Chen Po-ta
? Chang Chi-chun
? Chou Yang
Wu Leng-hsi

International Liaison Department

Director: Wu Hsiu-chuan

United Front Work Department

Director: Hsu Ping

Industrial and Communications Political Work Department
Director: Ku Mu

Finance and Trade Political Work Department
Director: ? Yao I-lin

Agriculture and Forestry Political Work Department
Director: Unknown

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Higher Party School
President:

Lin Feng

Young Communist League
1st Secretary:

? Hu Yao-pang

IV. MAJOR REGIONAL AND PROVINCIAL LEADERS

North China Bureau

1st Secretary: Li Hsueh-feng
2nd Secretary: Ulanfu
3rd Secretary: ? Lin Tieh
Secretaries : ? Li Li-san
 Liu Tzu-hou
 ? Liao Han-sheng

Peking

Former 1st Secretary and Mayor: ? Peng Chen
1st Secretary: Li Hsueh-feng
Former 2nd Secretary: ? Liu Jen
2nd Secretary: Wu Te

Hopeh

1st Secretary: ? Lin Tieh
Governor: Liu Tzu-hou

Shansi

1st Secretary: ? Wei Heng

Inner Mongolia

1st Secretary and Governor: Ulanfu

Northeast Bureau

1st Secretary: Sung Jen-chiung
2nd Secretary: ? Oui-yang Chin
3rd Secretary: ? Ma Ming-fang
Secretaries : ? Huang Huo-ching
 ? Huang Ou-tung
 ? Chen Hsi-lien

Liaoning

1st Secretary: ? Huang Huo-ching
Governor: ? Huang Ou-tung

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1st Secretary: Unknown

Heilungkiang

Former 1st Secretary: ? Ou-yang Chin (replaced about March)
1st Secretary: Pan Fu-sheng
Governor: Li Fan-wu

Northwest Bureau

1st Secretary: Liu Lan-tao
Secretaries: Kao Ko-lin
? Chang Ta-chih
Wang En-mao
? Wang Feng
Yang Chih-lin
Yang Ching-jen
Huo Shih-lien

Shensi

1st Secretary: Huo Shih-lien

Ningsia

1st Secretary: Yang Ching-jen

Kansu

1st Secretary: ? Wang Feng

Tsinghai

1st Secretary: Yang Chih-lin

Sinkiang

1st Secretary: Wang En-mao
Governor: ? Saifudin

East China Bureau

1st Secretary: Unknown
2nd Secretary: Unknown
3rd Secretary: ? Li Pao-hua
Secretaries: ? Chen Pei-hsien
? Yeh Fei
? Yang Shang-kuei
Chiang Hua
Tan Chi-lung
Wei Wen-po

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Shanghai

1st Secretary: ? Chen Pei-hsien
Mayor: Tsao Ti-chiu

Shantung

1st Secretary: Tan Chi-lung

Kiangsu

1st Secretary: Chiang Wei-ching

Anhwei

1st Secretary: ? Li Pao-hua

Chekiang

1st Secretary: Chiang Hua

Kiangsi

1st Secretary: ? Yang Shang-kuei

Fukien

1st Secretary: ? Yeh Fei

Central-South Bureau

1st Secretary: Tao Chu
2nd Secretary: Wang Jen-chung
3rd Secretary: Chen Yu
Secretaries: ? Wu Chih-pu
 ? Huang Yung-sheng
 Wang Shou-tao
 Chao Tzu-yang
 Liu Chien-hsun

Honan

1st Secretary: Liu Chien-hsun

Hupeh

1st Secretary: Wang Jen-chung

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Hunan

1st Secretary: Chang Ping-hua

Kwangtung

1st Secretary: Chao Tzu-yang
Governor: Chen Yu

Kwangsi

1st Secretary and Governor: ? Wei Kuo-ching

Southwest Bureau

1st Secretary: Li Ching-chuan
Secretaries: Li Ta-chang
Liao Chih-kao
? Cheng Tzu-hua
Chang Ching-wu

Szechwan

1st Secretary: Liao Chih-kao
Governor: Li Ta-chang

Kweichow

1st Secretary: ? Chia Chi-yun

Yunnan

1st Secretary: Yeng Hung-yen
Governor: Chou Hsing

Tibet

1st Secretary: ? Chang Kuo-hua

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ANNEX D: STATUS OF KEY MILITARY OFFICIALS

Key: ? = May be in trouble.

(I) = Were inactive or relatively unimportant prior to present party crisis.

I. MILITARY AFFAIRS COMMITTEE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

| | |
|------------------------------------|------------------|
| Chairman: | Mao Tse-tung |
| Vice Chairman: | Lin Piao |
| (I) | Ho Lung |
| | ? Nieh Jung-chen |
| Secy. Genl.: | ? Lo Jui-ching |
| Dep. Secy. Genl.: | ? Hsiao Hua |
| Other Members, Standing Committee: | Hsu Hsiang-chien |
| | (I) Liu Po-cheng |
| | Yeh Chien-ying |

**II. PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY GENERAL POLITICAL DEPARTMENT
(Directly subordinate to Central Committee)**

| | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| Director: | ? Hsiao Hua |
| Deputy Directors: | ? Fu Chung |
| | Liu Chih-chien |
| | ? Liang Pi-ye |
| | Hsu Li-ching |

III. PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY GENERAL STAFF DEPARTMENT

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------|
| Chief of Staff: | ? Lo Jui-ching |
| Deputy Chiefs of Staff: | Chang Tsung-hsun |
| | ? Chang Ai-ping |
| | Peng Shao-hui |
| | ? Yang Cheng-wu |
| | ? Yang Yung |
| | Li Tien-yu |
| | Wang Hsin-ting |
| | ? Han Hsien-chu |

IV. MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

Minister: Lin Piao

Vice Ministers: ? Hsiao Ching-kuang
? Liao Han-sheng
? Wang Shu-sheng
(I) Su Yu
Hsu Kuang-ta
? Hsu Shih-yu
? Lo Jui-ching

V. MAJOR SERVICE ARMS AND PEKING MILITARY REGION

Air Force

Commander: ? Wu Fa-hsien
Political Commissar: ? Yu Li-chin

Armored Force

Commander: Hsu Kuang-ta

Naval Headquarters

Commander: ? Hsiao Ching-kuang
Political Commissar: ? Su Chen-hua

Public Security Force

Commander: Hsieh Fu-chih
Political Commissar: Hsieh Fu-chih

VI. MILITARY REGIONS

Peking MR (Peking, Hopeh, Shansi)

Commander: ? Yang Yung
Political Commissar: Unknown

Mukden MR (Liaoning, Kirin, Heilungkiang)

Commander: ? Chen Hsi-lien
Political Commissar: Sung Jen-chiung

Tsinan MR (Shantung)

Commander: ? Yang Te-chih
Political Commissar: Tan Chi-lung

Nanking MR (Shanghai, Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anhwei)

Commander: ? Hsu Shih-yu
Political Commissar: Chiang Hua

Foochow MR (Fukien, Kiangsi)

Commander: ? Yeh Fei
Political Commissar: ? Yeh Fei

~~SECRET~~Wu-han MR (Hupeh, Honan)

Commander: (I) Chen Tsai-tao
Political Commissar: Wang Jen-chung

Canton MR (Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Hunan)

Commander: ? Huang Yung-sheng
Political Commissar: Tao Chu

Kunming MR (Yunnan, Kweichow)

Commander: Chin Chi-wei
Political Commissar: Yen Hung-yen

Chengtu MR (Szechwan)

Commander: ? Huang Hsin-ting
Political Commissar: Li Ching-chuan

Tibet MR

Commander: ? Chang Kuo-hua
Political Commissar: ? Tan Kuan-lan

Sinkiang MR

Commander: Wang En-mao
Political Commissar: Wang En-mao

Lanchou MR (Shensi, Ningsia, Kansu, Tsinghai)

Commander: ? Chang Ta-chih
Political Commissar: ? Hsien Heng-han

Inner Mongolia MR

Commander: Ulanfu
Political Commissar: Ulanfu

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